

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 263376

TOSEC 641

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: GENERAL TALKING POINTS FOR YOUR MEETING WITH  
CONGRESSMAN FRASER

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HOLTON

1. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE GENERAL POINTS THAT WE FEEL YOU  
SHOULD MAKE WITH CONGRESSMAN FRASER IN YOUR MEETING ON  
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 3 AT 4:00 P.M.

A. PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM FROM ARBITRARY GOVERN-  
MENT ACTION IS A BASIC TENET OF OUR POLITICAL HERITAGE.  
THE UNITED STATES STANDS OPPOSED TO VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN  
RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. IT ALSO STANDS COMMITTED  
TO SECURING AN ENDURING STRUCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELA-  
TIONSIPS WHICH WILL PERMIT THE WORLD TO LIVE IN PEACE.  
THE FURTHERING OF BOTH THESE POLICIES REQUIRES THAT THE  
UNITED STATES BE ABLE TO PROVIDE A VARIETY OF RESPONSES  
TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH A WIDE ARRAY OF COMPLEX AND  
SENSITIVE FACTUAL SITUATIONS.

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B. IT IS IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN THIS POSTURE OF FLEXIBILITY

IN DECIDING WHAT KINDS OF ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE FURNISHED TO COUNTRIES WHERE HUMAN RIGHTS CONSIDERATIONS ARE RELEVANT. IF WE ARE TO BE EFFECTIVE AT ALL IN BEHALF OF HUMAN RIGHTS, WE HAVE TO USE WHATEVER INFLUENCE AND LEVERAGE WE HAVE WITH

GREAT CARE. OTHERWISE OUR EFFORTS CAN BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE.

C. CUTTING OFF AID FROM AN ALLIED OR OTHERWISE FRIENDLY NATION IS NOT NECESSARILY THE BEST MEANS OF PROMOTING AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN A COUNTRY.

--CATEGORICAL SUSPENSION OF ASSISTANCE WOULD CALL FORTH CRIES OF AMERICAN INTERVENTION.

--SUSPENSION OF AID DIRECTED AT AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES WOULD BREED RESENTMENT, SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS, AND NATIONALISM, OFTEN INCREASING RATHER THAN AMELIORATING REPRESSION.

--RESTRICTIVE AMENDMENTS OFTEN JEOPARDIZE THE ABILITY OF THE U.S. TO PURSUE OTHER AMERICAN INTERESTS IN THE COUNTRIES.

--THERE ARE LIMITS TO THE CAPABILITY OF THE U.S. TO CHANGE THE DOMESTIC STRUCTURES OF OTHER NATIONS. OUR PRIMARY CONCERN MUST BE TO HELP INFLUENCE THE INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT OF NATIONS IN THE WORLD ARENA.

--PAST EXPERIENCE DEMONSTRATES THAT THE USE OF SANCTIONS HAS LITTLE EFFECT. IN SITUATIONS WHERE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS ARE ADJUSTED AS A MEASURE OF U.S. DISAPPROVAL OF THE RECIPIENT'S HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES, WE MUST RETAIN THE FLEXIBILITY TO RESPOND AFFIRMATIVELY TO IMPROVEMENTS IN THOSE PRACTICES.

D. IN COUNTRIES WHERE IMPORTANT U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS ARE AT STAKE, IT MAY BE WISER TO PURSUE ALTERNATIVES TO AID CUT-OFFS WHICH JEOPARDIZE THOSE INTERESTS. KOREA, FOR EXAMPLE, IS A KEY COUNTRY IN U.S. EFFORTS TO ASSURE THE STABILITY AND SECURITY OF NORTHEAST ASIA. STOPPING  
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OUR MILITARY AID MIGHT WELL BE SEEN BY THE NORTH KOREAN LEADERSHIP AS A CLEAR DIMINUTION OF OUR COMMITMENT TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTH KOREA. WE CONTINUE TO WORK FOR IMPROVEMENTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT CONSIDER THE PREVENTION OF WAR ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA TO BE THE FIRST AND MOST IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD THE MAINTENANCE OF HUMAN LIBERTY. IN HIS RECENT TRIP TO KOREA, HOWEVER, THE PRESIDENT MADE IT VERY CLEAR TO PRESIDENT PARK OF OUR CONCERN OVER THE

HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION.

E. IN CHILE, WE BELIEVE A TERMINATION OF SECURITY ASSIS-

TANCE WOULD PREJUDICE OUR EFFORTS TO ADVANCE HUMAN RIGHTS RATHER THAN HELP THEM. THE DEPARTMENT HAS SUPPORTED AND ENCOURAGED AMBASSADOR POPPER'S FREQUENT AND WE BELIEVE EFFECTIVE EFFORTS TO KEEP THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO HUMAN RIGHTS. CUTTING OFF AID COULD SERIOUSLY DISRUPT OUR RELATIONS, WITHOUT ALTERING THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT'S PERCEPTION OF THE THREATS TO ITS INTERNAL SECURITY. MOREOVER, A CUT-OFF WOULD RAISE SERIOUS DOUBTS ABOUT U.S. SUPPORT FOR REGIONAL STABILITY IN LATIN AMERICA, EXPECIALLY IN VIEW OF THE DANGEROUS ARMS IMBALANCE DEVELOPING BETWEEN CHILE AND PERU.

F. AS A RESULT OF THE DEPARTMENTWIDE STUDY OF OUR POLICIES IN REGARD TO HUMAN RIGHTS, WE ARE ISSUING A GUIDANCE TO THE DEPARTMENT AND OUR MISSIONS ABROAD CLARIFYING OUR POSITION. THE GUIDANCE TAKES FULL ACCOUNT OF CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN HUMAN RIGHTS, WHICH CONGRESSMAN FRASER AND HIS SUBCOMMITTEE HAVE HELPED TO FOCUS, AND PROVIDES STANDING INSTRUCTIONS TO OUR OFFICERS TO COMMUNICATE THE SENSE OF THE CONGRESS ON THESE ISSUES TO ALL GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED. AS CONGRESSMAN FRASER KNOWS, HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICERS IN DIFFERENT REGIONAL AND FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS HAVE BEEN APPOINTED LARGELY AS A RESULT OF THE DEPARTMENT'S AWARENESS OF INTEREST IN

THIS VERY IMPORTANT ISSUE. WE WANT TO CONTINUE TO WORK WITH YOU ON THIS DIFFICULT PROBLEM.

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2. YOU SHOULD BE AWARE THAT CONGRESSMAN FRASER AND HIS COLLEAGUES MAY ALSO WANT TO DISCUSS WITH YOU THE FOLLOWING MATTERS (A) THE ALLEGED REBUKE OF AMBASSADOR POPPER, (B) THE SUBSTANCE OF THE DISCUSSIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS THAT YOU AND THE PRESIDENT HAD WITH PRESIDENT PARK OF SOUTH KOREA, (C) THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS TO ASSIST IN THE REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT ON RHODESIAN CHROME IN UPCOMING HOUSE VOTE, (D) A JACK ANDERSON ARTICLE OF NOVEMBER 27 DETAILING ALLEGED TORTURE OF AN AMERICAN WOMAN BY CHILEAN AUTHORITIES. WE ARE INVESTIGATING THIS MATTER AND WILL REPORT TO YOU FURTHER ON YOUR RETURN. INGERSOLL

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